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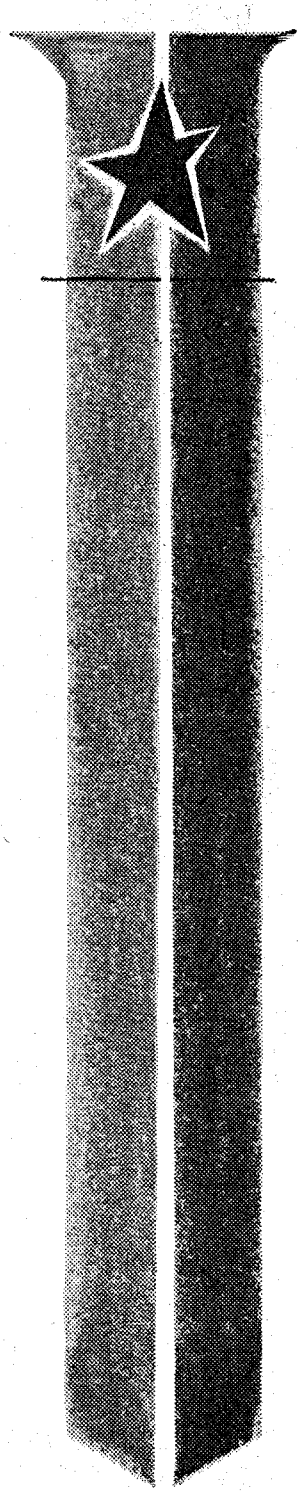

An Eight-Year Plan

SECURITY THROUGH DISARMAMENT

Louis B. Sohn

CHICAGO'S VOTE-FRAUD HOAX

Herman Finer, Jerome G. Kerwin and C. Herman Pritchett

SHINKOLOBWE: KEY TO THE CONGO

Ritchie Calder

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LETTERS

A Valid Point

Dear Sirs: I have just read "Health Care for the Aged: Progress Report," by Gerald Krefetz, in your Feb. 4 issue. There is one aspect of this problem that he does not touch on at all. Of all the people in the country past the age of sixty-five, about one-fourth are not on Social Security rolls. The older the age level you take, the larger becomes the number not connected with Social Security. Thus, over half of persons past eighty-five are not covered, and practically none who are ninety years old or more.

These old people without any Social Security are generally the neediest among us. I believe that the overwhelming majority of U.S. citizens want to provide for needs of the aged. It seems odd that so much effort is being expended on a bill that gives no help to those who need it most. . . .

LEWIS R. LANG, M.D.

Calhoun, Ga.

Relativeness of Literacy

Dear Sirs: Professor Kemeny in his review of my book, *Fights, Games, and Debates* [*The Nation*, Feb. 18] asks whether we are about to enter an era in which discussions in the social sciences will escape the "intelligent layman" for want of literacy in mathematics. Professor Kemeny points out that the "intelligent layman" has already "conceded the battle of understanding modern physical science." Since mathematics is increasingly becoming the language of social science as well as of physical science, conceivably the intelligent layman may also give up trying to understand the important ideas of social science.

In historical perspective, the situation does not seem so hopeless. . . . We take universal literacy as practically inevitable, yet the conceptual leap into associating visual patterns of abstract symbols with spoken language is probably as prodigious as the corresponding leap into mathematical thinking. We tend to overlook this, because we have come to regard learning to read by children as a commonplace achievement.

In spite of the esoteric nature of "modern" science, that is, of the knowledge representing the most recently conquered territory, I do not believe the layman today understands science any less than did the layman of the seventeenth century. Only our cultural heritage has made "classical" science appear to be founded on "common sense."

The common sense of yesterday dictated the conclusions that the earth is flat, "up" was heavenward, and that you can't make a silk purse from a pig's ear (let alone a necktie from silk solids and coal). Mark Twain's Jim was as bewildered by the fact that it is an hour later in Ohio than in Missouri as the modern intelligent layman is by the time paradoxes of relativity.

In short the sort of sophistication demanded by "modern science" for understanding its ideas is probably within the intelligent layman's grasp and will certainly come as "modern science," physical or social, becomes "classical science." The inhibitions of a rational understanding of our world, especially of ourselves, are not, I believe, rooted in a lack of capacity for abstract thought but rather in the fears engendered by threats to our cherished misconceptions. The two problems are not unrelated, but they are not identical.

ANATOL RAPOPORT

Ann Arbor, Mich.

For Better Reading

Dear Sirs: I read Helmut Bonheim's article, "American Books in Vienna," in your Jan. 14 issue, with much distress. I've known for a long time that only the most mediocre (and conservative) American literature is available abroad. . . . I have a stack of *Nations* at home that I'd like to make available to anyone interested.

HILMA COHN

North Hollywood, Calif.

The Choice

Dear Sirs: Reader E. R. Karr [*The Nation*, Jan. 28] hopes that the sole male survivor of the atomic extermination of mankind will be a pessimist, and not an optimist. I hope much more strongly that he will be an optimist. The great men of Western civilization have generally been optimists, combining with this fatuous faith the realization that people are awful. As a member of this society, I pray that the last male survivor will be an optimist who knows he is a stinker, but plans to do the best he can.

If *The Nation* were committed to pessimism, certainly it would not bother to publish; and why should it? If all *The Nation's* readers were whooping cranes or Great Indian one-horned rhinoceroses, both probably close to extinction, there would be very little constructive point in addressing them faithfully week after week.

From this point of view, the Ambrose Bierce fable Mr. Karr quotes is junk, except for the one glorious line: "'The world is all created,' said God." This fact is shattering to the pessimist, and exhilarating to the optimist. Do you choose, then, the dismayed, greedy pessimist or the magnanimous man? There is, indeed, a choice.

DAVID CORT

New York City

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THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The President's Speech

In a taut world, explosive events often lead to unexpected results not always directly related to the merits of the issue at hand. It can be conceded, for example, that the Secretary General's mandate in the Congo was imprecise or inadequate, or that he or his surrogates may have misinterpreted the mandate or been guilty of errors of judgment. Yet the haste with which the Soviet Union has sought to exploit the propaganda potential implicit in the murder of Lumumba—the murder could not have been better timed to thwart the emergence of a possible new American approach to the Congo at the U.N.—may well boomerang. The USSR has driven us, more or less in spite of ourselves, into leading the defense of the United Nations. With solid public backing, the President has now been able to align American policy with that of the small nations and to quote Prime Minister Nehru with relish and approval.

Neither this country nor the Soviet Union can afford direct military intervention in the Congo. As Walter Lippmann has pointed out, Rudyard Kipling and Queen Victoria are dead, "besides which they were not Americans" (nor were they Russians, either). The President, we may be sure, was well aware of this fact when he warned against direct unilateral military intervention. He also, and very wisely, stressed our willingness to negotiate through the U.N. an enlarged representation in the present government of the Congo. But by anchoring American policy to the defense of the United Nations, he has pre-empted the strong and, ultimately, the winning position. For when the full account of events in the Congo is better known, world opinion may well conclude that the U.N. intervention, whatever mistakes were made, was indeed essential.

None of this is written in underestimation of certain economic factors (see Ritchie Calder's article on page 163) which have undoubtedly played an important role in the attitude taken by individual Western nations toward the Congo problem. But neither Mr. Hammarskjold nor the U.N. Secretariat can be saddled with the sins of the West (no more than they can with the sins of the East). The fact is that any reading of the U.N.'s role in the Congo must arouse respect for its competence and admiration for the spirit which animated its personnel under nearly impossible conditions.

In a word, the returns on the U.N.'s role in the Congo are not all in, by any means, and it would be well to withhold final judgment on Mr. Hammarskjold's performance to date.

Bargains in Missiles

The cost of missiles is becoming a substantial part of total military costs. This, however, is a statistical field in which the interested taxpayer must watch his step. The figures handed out by the individual services and publicized by the press must be scrutinized carefully.

The first question to ask is the same as with an automobile — what accessories come with the unit? In buying missile protection, however, the accessories normally cost more than the missile. What is the cost of a Minuteman, *seul*? Answer: $400,000. But the taxpayer is advised to restrain his cheers — this is a bullet without a gun. When the Minuteman is mounted on a railroad train and its share of the capital cost of the train is included, the cost is $3.4 million. According to some sources, the cost of installing the Minuteman in a silo hardened to 100 pounds per square inch is about the same: $3.5 million, including the missile.

But still we do not know where we are at. Even disregarding range and accuracy, we must take the explosive energy of the missile into account. The best information to be obtained at the present time is that the Air Force's Minuteman and the Navy's Polaris are equal at about 0.3 megatons. This simplifies comparison of the two missiles, but if either is compared with the Air Force's Atlas or Titan, for example, the seven megatons, more or less, of the weapons must be taken into account. If the cost of a $3.5 million, 0.3-megaton Minuteman, hardened to 100 pounds, is computed on a yield basis, it comes to $11.7 per megaton. The cost of a $35 million, seven-megaton Atlas, similarly hardened, is only $5 per megaton.

Let us not, however, pay out our hard-earned money for Atlas just yet. What we are really interested in is the yield of the missile, its probable accuracy of delivery, its reliability (how many fail to go off) and the number of missiles that will be required to do a given job. Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, U.S.A. (Ret.)

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has performed such calculations for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The target is assumed to be an easy one, such as an airfield. In this computation, Atlas and Titan come in at $105 million each, Polaris at $123.7 million according to one set of assumptions and $247.5 million with less optimistic assumptions, while Minuteman triumphs at $21 million and $42 million, respectively. "From these figures," General Phillips concludes, "it can be seen why Minuteman stands high in [Secretary of Defense] McNamara's 'benefit-cost ratio' in comparison with other systems." But it will still be more than a trifle, the taxpayer can be sure of that. Russia is a large country.

Pink Smoke

Brown University had better turn on the sirens and bring its security forces into action, for a dangerously subversive character has infiltrated its respectable precincts. He signs himself "R.D.F., '62" but sounds more like a professor. In a long letter on "America as a Civilization" in the February 10 Brown University *Herald*, R.D.F. makes the point that where America once rejoiced at the black smoke of its mills, now its heart is gladdened by the pink smoke of the advertiser. R.D.F. sees this new addiction as affecting the national character, and not for the better. Facts, he says, cannot be wished away beneath a plethora of soothing words. "An automobile is not beautiful," he goes on, "ignorance is not truth, and cancer is not good simply because all the communicative media chant jingles at us and present pictures . . . which show that each of these assertions is true. . . . The pink smoke has obscured the defined lines of that which is real . . . and in so doing has obscured . . . our true American heritage." The advertisers have eroded our traditional morality, because a sense of right and wrong "can only exist where men are concerned with reality."

It is the duty of the Brown authorities to shield the tender minds of their wards from such materialist heresy. What would become of the free American economy if the rude hand of the iconoclast were laid on the tender skin of the advertising profession? For instance, advertising induces the right-thinking and right-reading American to buy, whether he has any money or not; if he were not so persuaded, the black smoke would vanish altogether. As it is, things are just wonderful. True, the American Bankers Association is a little uneasy because installment-loan delinquencies rose again in December. And the American Bar Association is being urged to look into the growing number of consumer bankruptcies, up 400 per cent since 1950. The *Los Angeles Times* complains that easy credit has turned the Los Angeles area into the "bankruptcy capital" of the nation. The typical Southland bankrupt, according to a federal referee, is a man still working at a job with $75 to $125 a week in take-home pay, who owes $1,000 to $1,500 on his car, furniture and appliances, and $2,000 to $4,000 to general creditors. His gross monthly payments are twice his gross income. But he has done his duty. R.D.F. should be ashamed of himself for deriding this good man and the advertisers who inspired him to buy, buy, buy.

How the British Do It

The most sensational British spy case since Klaus Fuchs has revealed, in a general way, how the British go about catching their spies. It is in marked contrast to the American way, which involves a national hero, J. Edgar Hoover, the inspiration of every red-blooded American boy and the meal ticket of many a journalist and television writer. The British seem to think that spies are best caught by secretive methods and secretive people. Their counter-spy organization, as revealed by George Bryant in the Toronto *Star*, is called MI-5 and that name is used in British TV thrillers as FBI is used here, with the difference that quite a lot is authentically known about the FBI and its head, while the British script writers are driven to rely almost entirely on their unaided imagination. MI-5 changes chiefs on occasion, but the name of only one former chief is known: Sir Percy Sillitoe, described as a "gang-busting policeman" before he took the top security job. The MI-5 agents testify in court when necessary, but give only their initials (which are no doubt coded) and disappear after they have testified. One never sees them at the Stork Club and they are not interviewed by the press. One top agent, who testified at the trials of Fuchs and William Joyce (Lord Haw-Haw) was an exception: his name was William James Skardon and it was revealed that he was earning £23 a week. "The men I was attempting to direct," said Sir Percy after his retirement, "were highly intelligent but somewhat introspective, each working in a rather withdrawn isolation, concentrating on his own problems." How un-American! But what can one expect of the unromantic British?

Indian Point Four

According to Secretary of the Interior Udall, the American Indian reservations under his charge should rate as "an underdeveloped area" of the world. Why not? In area, "reservationland" totals 85,000 square miles with more than 350,000 people — comparable in size to the new African republic of Gabon.

Mr. Udall's opinion was anticipated last year by William Whirlwind Horse, chairman of the Oglala Sioux Planning Commission. At a meeting of the Association on American Indian Affairs, Mr. Horse reported that 80 per cent of his tribe live like Indians. He explained:

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"When I say 'living like an Indian,' I mean sick, poor, confused and, very often, without any pride."

Where there is an "Indian problem," there may also be an Indian solution. In the same speech, Mr. Horse described the plans made by his people to preserve their tribal land from piecemeal sale and to use it more profitably. Sugar-beet farming, tourism and a local ceramics industry were among the ways he suggested. John Wooden Legs of the Northern Cheyenne offered a similar plan. Both would depend on modest federal financing and active technical guidance along the lines of the Indian Point Four program proposed in 1956 by the Indian Affairs Association, but ignored by the Eisenhower administration.

Now the Indian Bureau is being reorganized under a new chief, John Crow. Mr. Crow's first statements in office had a Point Four ring. He spoke of working closely with Indians in the field, helping them to help themselves up to first-class citizenship. Let's hope this can be done without making the Indians sacrifice whatever of their cultural identity they want to keep. Mr. Crow's own Cherokee ancestry may help him to understand Whirlwind Horse's legitimate plea: "We still want to be Indian!"

SECURITY THROUGH DISARMAMENT .. *Louis B. Sohn*

THE RACE in armaments is spiraling beyond the stratosphere. The nuclear stockpiles of the major antagonists have reached the horrendous size of an equivalent of some 60,000,000,000 tons of TNT—twenty tons of explosives for every man, woman and child in the world. Tremendous missiles, many stories high, can cross distances of more than 5,000 miles in half an hour, and no nation can any longer feel safe behind vast ocean ramparts. Very soon even a small and poor nation may afford to have a very few citybusters to threaten its neighbors.

The nations of the world are spending some $100 billion a year on arms which are supposed to guarantee their security, but there *is* no security. By design, by miscalculation, by accident—a war can start at any time. Some quiet morning when most of us are asleep, hundreds of missiles may rise from the depths of the oceans and destroy all the major cities within several hundred miles of our shores; half an hour later, the big missiles will arrive across the oceans and destroy the inland cities. With luck, a few of them will be destroyed on the way, but enough will get through to change most of our cities into radioactive rubble, and to kill on the spot some 40-80 million people. All our military might cannot save them, nor protect the remainder against fallout and starvation. The only thing we can do is to retaliate on the enemy, thus further increasing radioactive fallout and multiplying the chance that even innocent bystanders in other nations will not be able to survive.

Our great array of weapons is extremely important as a deterrent, but if war should start they would no longer give us any real security. By increasing further the size and quality of our armaments, we can increase our chance to retaliate and thus diminish the possibility of a premeditated attack. The grave danger lies, however, in a nuclear war developing from a limited war through gradual increase in the destructiveness of the weapons used in it by the losing side, or from accident or mistake. With growing reliance on intricate devices and push-button weapons, the chance of a mechanical failure increases at a rapid rate. This is accompanied by an increase in tensions and an accumulating desire to get rid of them at whatever cost. Finally, even if the present possessors of nuclear weapons can be expected always to make wise decisions, adequate caution may not prevail in the other nations which are likely to acquire these weapons in the near future. As an eminent scientist said recently, there is no longer just a probability, but a certainty, of a nuclear war in the next ten years.

IT IS the duty of the President of the United States to make these facts and dangers clear to the people of the United States and to Congress. Otherwise it may not be possible for them to accept the drastic remedies needed. President Roosevelt, writing before the advent of the atomic age, instinctively grasped the basic requirement of a peaceful world: *a comprehensive reduction in armaments*. The road to American security no longer lies in the direction of an arms race toward an illusive point of superiority in destructive power; we can obtain more security only by obtaining a cut in our potential adversaries' power to destroy us. Such a cut can be obtained in one way only—by an agreement on a reciprocal reduction of armaments to the point where neither of us will be able to destroy the other.

We must, of course, maintain our present strength while we try to find some mutually acceptable terms for such an agreement. It might even be a good bargaining point to threaten an increase in our military establishment, and in the deterrent strength of our allies, if an agreement is not reached within a reasonable time. But the main effort must be in the opposite direction. We need to start thinking about disarmament as

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the only remaining way of increasing our security. The question is no longer whether we can "risk" disarmament; not to risk it is to run a greater risk.

The main thing that seems to stop us is that we know the risks of the arms race, however frightening they may be, but we have really no idea what are the actual risks of reciprocal disarmament. In a disarmed world, national power will depend not on arms, but on other factors elusive at present and, therefore, looming as dangerous. Can we compete with the Russians in areas other than armaments? Can we win a race for the hearts and minds of men in a world free from the fear of a devastating war? Is our system sufficiently dynamic to devote as much to winning the peace as to deterring a war? To all these questions the answer is yes, if we are ready to buckle down to work and if our President is willing to lead us into this exciting world of peace.

ASSUMING that we are ready to explore the path to peace, where shall we start? In the first place, we need an agreement not with the Russians, but among our own people with respect to disarmament. While our government has accepted in the last two years "the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control," there is a strong feeling in this country and abroad that we are paying only lip service to the idea. The doubts would be largely removed if the President would officially proclaim his willingness to do all in his power to make considerable progress towards this goal during his Administration. His declaration should then be submitted to Congress for endorsement, and Congress should appoint a special committee, composed of leaders of both parties, to work closely with the President on the preparation of plans to realize the goal. The best brains in the country should be mobilized and alternative routes should be explored. While it is not necessary for the general public to know the details of the plans under preparation, there should be sufficient disclosure of general outlines to test the sentiments of the country.

Once the President has Congress and the country behind him, then the time will arrive to get the agreement of our allies and their suggestions for improving our proposals. Once our allies are satisfied, we will be ready to talk seriously to the Russians, and they will be forced to believe that we are actually ready to arrive at a meaningful agreement. For as long as there is serious doubt that anything proposed by our government will be approved by Congress, any proposals will be considered as sheer propaganda; once there is preliminary approval by Congress and the people, the other parties to the negotiations will no longer be able to avoid the issue and will have to bargain in good faith.

The ideas suggested here are not novel. They are based on two of our most important past experiences: the preparation of the United Nations Charter and the North Atlantic Treaty. From the Fulbright Resolution to Dumbarton Oaks, and from the Vandenberg Resolution to the Washington Conference, this method was followed with success. We ought to try it again in seeking to obtain an agreement on disarmament.

IT WOULD be presumptuous on my part to attempt to anticipate the exact details of the agreement that might be finally reached on disarmament, but some possible alternatives may be outlined. All of them are based on the assumption that the United States will not abandon the goal of general and complete disarmament, under effective international control, that was endorsed in all the principal draft resolutions presented at the fifth session of the General Assembly; and that the main problem relates to the method by which this goal can be reached.

Over the last few years, we have been trying to proceed by small steps, hoping that an agreement, for instance, on nuclear tests will establish a more favorable atmosphere for a more comprehensive agreement. It cannot be doubted that such an agreement would brighten the horizon for future negotiations; but if the next small step should require the same amount of time and patience as did the first, many years would elapse before we could reach any actual disarmament agreement. It seems desirable, therefore, to abandon this preliminary fencing and to start thinking instead about some big steps toward controlled disarmament. In fact, such a big step might be easier for the Russians to accept, as it would involve an amount of controls which would be more proportionate to the amount of effective disarmament. We have seen that a nuclear test is worth, according to the Russians, only three inspections a year, with important limitations as to the size of the territory to be inspected. If we want more inspections, we have to accept more meaningful disarmament measures.

ALMOST thirty years ago, President Hoover proposed that all armies and navies be reduced by one-third, and that certain specific weapons (heavy artillery, tanks and bombers) be abolished entirely. Over the years the Soviet Union repeatedly made similar proposals; in particular, last year it picked up a French proposal for the abolition of all means of delivering nuclear weapons (missiles, military aircraft, naval vessels, submarines and artillery), and suggested that they be abolished in the first stage of the disarmament process. Other measures to be taken in the first stage, according to the Soviet plan, would include: reduction of the armed forces of all states to fixed levels (for instance, of the United States and the Soviet Union to 1.7 million men each, equivalent to a cut of about one-third); a corresponding reduction in conventional weapons and military expenditures; withdrawal of all forces to national territories and the elimination of foreign military bases; launching of rockets for peace purposes only; prohibition of transfers of nuclear weapons to states which do not possess them and of the manufacture of such weapons by these states. (The only important measures missing from these proposals are the abolition of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of their manufacture.)

The Soviet proposals also contain provisions for a control organization which "shall at each stage have powers in conformity with the scope and nature of disarmament measures involved." In particular, international

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inspection teams would be permitted: to watch over the destruction of prohibited means of delivery and the abolition of foreign bases; to insure that airfields and ports are not used for military purposes; to establish permanent controls over factories previously engaged in the production of prohibited means of delivery, and to examine documents pertaining to the budgetary allocations of states for military purposes.

The United States proposals for the first stage, also presented in 1960, included the following steps: prohibition of placing nuclear weapons in outer space; notification of all launchings of missiles and space vehicles; establishment of a zone of aerial and ground inspection in agreed areas of the United States and the Soviet Union; cutting of military forces of the United States and the Soviet Union first to 2.5 million and, after the verification of this reduction, to 2.1 million, and of the forces of other militarily significant states to agreed levels; stopping of production of fissionable materials and transfer of thirty tons of weapons-grade uranium from weapons stockpiles; and, to prevent a surprise attack, exchange of observers at agreed military installations, including missile and air bases at home and abroad.

BOTH groups of proposals are clearly deficient from the other side's point of view. The United States proposals contain an extremely small amount of actual disarmament and a relatively large amount of inspection. The Soviet proposals, on the other hand, are deficient in their inspection provisions, though they contain more effective disarmament provisions. While the United States puts strong emphasis on measures to prevent a surprise attack, the Soviet Union considers that these measures are designed to obtain information about the location of Soviet air and missile bases. On the other hand, the Soviet proposals do not seem to contain inspection provisions adequate to insure that all bases, means of delivery and factories have been actually opened to inspection, and that no means of delivery are hidden in other places or that no other factories are engaged in producing them.

It would seem desirable to combine the good features of the two groups of proposals and to eliminate their deficiencies. There are three basic difficulties. In the first place, it is not likely that the inspection system in the first stage will be so efficient as to guarantee complete compliance with the provisions of the agreement. A margin of safety would be necessary, therefore, and each of the two sides might wish to keep a number of means of delivery roughly equal to the hypothetical number of means of delivery which might have been hidden by the other side and which are not likely to be discovered immediately by the international inspection teams. (Since an aggressor needs more than a 200 per cent superiority in weapons to destroy the ability of the other side to retaliate, a number of weapons equal to the size of the possible error in inspection checkup should constitute sufficient insurance against a premeditated attack.)

IN THE second place, it is not practicable to declare that on a certain day all means of delivery will be suddenly abolished. Even the first stage will have to be subdivided into several phases, during each of which certain measures will be taken. But if this proposition is accepted, then a third difficulty will arise, due to Soviet insistence that controls be proportioned to disarmament. The Russians might be willing to allow inspection of *all* their territory only *after* all means of delivery have been abolished. Otherwise, the Soviet air and missile bases which are now protected by their efficient secrecy will become vulnerable to a sudden attack by the other side. During the various phases of abolishing the means of delivery, only partial inspection would be permitted, preserving the rest of the territory from foreign spying.

To get around this difficulty, it has been suggested (e.g., see American Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Summer Study of Arms Control 1960, Collected Papers,* pp. 265-69), that disarmament and control measures should be phased on a territorial basis. For instance, each side might divide its territory into six areas, in each of which there would be an about equal number of its means of delivery. One of these areas would then be chosen either by the other side or by the international control organization, the selection to be based either on a random choice by lot, or on a suspicion of the likelihood of evasion in a particular area. If both sides should try to apply the game theory, the first method of selection might be safer, as otherwise one side would try to outguess the other. (If B thinks that A is likely to choose area "a," B would transfer all extra weapons to area "b"; if A thinks that B might think so, it would choose area "b" instead of "a"; if B thinks that A might think that B might transfer the weapons to "b" because it thinks that A might choose "a," B might put them in "a"; etc.) In addition, military intelligence experts might prefer not to have the task of deciding which area should be chosen, as too many variables and inadequate data would make a decision extremely difficult. Thus choosing by lot might be better in the long run, and with each subsequent selection the odds against a successful evasion increase considerably. On the other hand, in the early phases, a certain amount of possible evasion is not too dangerous, as the other side would still retain most of its retaliatory force.

TO prevent sudden shifts of armaments after an area has been selected, inspection teams could be stationed temporarily on the borders between all the areas prior to actual selection, as well as at rail and road centers and at airfields. After an area has been selected, the inspection teams on the boundaries of the selected area would remain there, but all the other teams would be withdrawn from the boundaries of other areas and would be brought to the selected area to aid in inspection.

Prior to the selection of an area, each side would be required to submit a general list of all its armaments and other objects of inspection, subdivided by areas; and after the selection of the area, it would be obligated to submit a more detailed list of armaments and other objects of inspection located in the selected area, the totals of which should not

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differ from those contained in the general list submitted in advance. Meanwhile inspection teams would be entitled to check the accuracy of the list and to check whether any non-listed control objects are located in the selected area. They would also supervise the actual process of disarmament within that area, and would see to it that all the armed forces, armaments, military installations and production facilities in the area would be reduced by the end of that particular phase to the numbers agreed on in the disarmament agreement.

This process would be repeated in the second phase with respect to the second area, and go on until by the end of all the phases of the first stage all the territories of both sides would become permanently subject to inspection and all the components of military strength would be reduced to the minimum specified in the disarmament agreement.

SUBJECT to the acceptance by the Soviet Union of these or equally effective control provisions, the President should propose a big step toward disarmament which would establish a bilateral balance between both sides, on a level much lower than the present one, with respect both to weapons of mass destruction and other weapons. Once this balance is established and satisfactorily verified, it should be easier to scale the armaments still further to police forces needed merely for the maintenance of internal security. In this second stage, an international police force would be simultaneously built up, effective means would be provided for dealing with international disputes and the United Nations would be strengthened to the point necessary to maintain peace and to enforce world law in the limited field of freedom from fear.

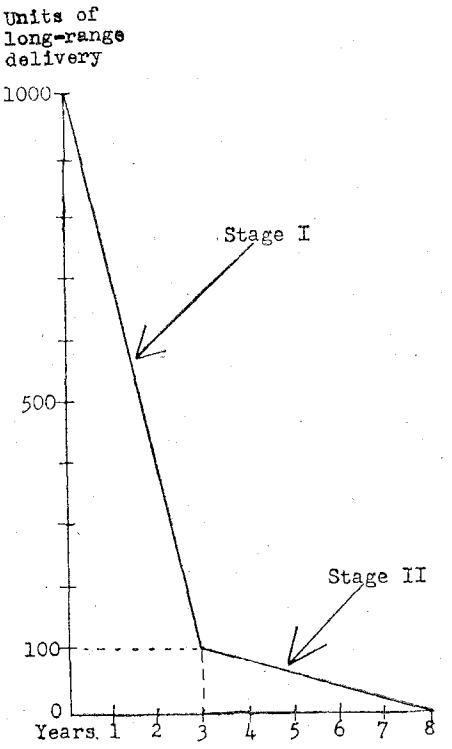
But progress toward the second stage depends on the successful completion of the first stage. This stage must contain a sufficient amount of disarmament to compensate for the Soviet acceptance of the amount of inspection which we deem necessary. It is suggested, therefore, that the American proposal for the first stage contain all the following elements.

1. The number of means of delivery of nuclear weapons should be reduced to an agreed small number needed as an insurance against the possibility that one side has hidden a similar number of weapons.

2. The production and testing of new military missiles should be prohibited, and the production, testing and use of rockets needed for space research should be permitted only under strict international control.

3. Military stockpiles of fissionable materials should be reduced in the first stage to an agreed amount, proportionate to the number of authorized means of delivery. (If, for instance, the number of means of delivery should be reduced to 100, the military stockpile of each side might be reduced to two metric tons of fissionable materials. While it might be more difficult to check on possible evasions of stockpile limitations, the size of the actual stockpile is not very important if there are strict limitations on means of delivery, as was well stated in the French proposal of 1959.)

4. All fissionable materials not needed for the authorized military stockpiles would be either destroyed, denatured or used up for peaceful purposes. The production of new fissionable materials would be limited to those needed for peaceful purposes. Both this production and all the peaceful uses of fissionable materials would be subject to strict international supervision. (Necessary safeguards for that purpose have been drafted in 1960 by the International Atomic Energy Agency.)



Two-stage disarmament plan.

5. Testing of nuclear weapons would be prohibited.

6. All existing stocks of biological, chemical and radiological weapons should be destroyed, and new production and testing would be prohibited.

7. The armed forces of the Soviet Union and the United States should be reduced to 1,000,000 and no more than 100,000 of them should be stationed outside their national territories. The remaining naval forces should be restricted to specified ocean areas. Flights by remaining military airplanes should be restricted to national territories and specified foreign areas. (If the United States should agree to a limitation on its main armaments, i.e., nuclear weapons, it must require a corresponding drastic reduction in the chief Soviet asset, i.e. the Russian Army. While most foreign air and missile bases should be deactivated, and all airplanes and missiles should be removed from those remaining, not all foreign troops need be withdrawn if the allies in whose territories they are stationed required the presence of some to guarantee immediate assistance in case of attack.)

8. Simultaneous reductions would have to be arranged for the military forces of other nations, in particular in Europe and Asia, taking into account in each region the need for maintaining a proper balance among various possible antagonists. The limitations in Africa and Latin America, where the arms race has been relatively limited, can be even more drastic.

WHILE it is not possible to estimate exactly the time needed to put all these measures into effect, there would be four main periods of varying length during which the following steps would take place: (1) the preparation of the United States plan for controlled disarmament; (2) the negotiations with other nations; (3) the first stage of disarmament to a

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level of an insurance force sufficient for retaliation against a violator, and (4) the second stage of disarmament to such a point that, to quote President Roosevelt, "no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor."

During World War II, the preparation of the United States plan for the Charter of the United Nations took three years and involved many redrafts in the light of comments from various government departments, Congress and special consultants. With proper leadership by the President, and in view of the urgency of the situation, this period may perhaps be cut down to a year. The negotiations with the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union at Dumbarton Oaks took less than six weeks, and negotiations with China required only nine extra days; the Mexico City Conference with our allies took two weeks, and the San Francisco Conference itself required two months. The Charter of the United Nations came into effect on October 24, 1945, fourteen months after the start of the Dumbarton Oaks conversations.

It might be difficult to emulate this part of the United Nations record, but it is conceivable that the Russians are going to be more cooperative if we present to them a really effective and reasonable plan for disarmament, well thought through and sufficiently detailed. The bargaining position of the United States would be much better if our negotiators could go to an international meeting with an agreed plan rather than with a few vague ideas requiring more precise formulation during the negotiations themselves. If the President can persuade the country and the Congress, he may find out that it might not require much additional effort to persuade the Russians as well.

The two actual disarmament stages must fulfill two basic conditions: all steps must be taken as rapidly as possible, but at the same time each phase should be long enough to allow sufficient inspection to insure that no large evasions are taking place. Six phases of six-month duration would allow the completion of the first stage in three years. The second stage, in which most weapons would be scaled down to zero, might be a little more dangerous, and would require a slowing down in the tempo of disarmament. A five-year period, composed of ten six-month phases, should nevertheless provide sufficient time for the further improvement of inspection methods and the creation of an additional element of security through the establishment of an international police force.

Thus, general and complete disarmament under effective international control could be accomplished safely in eight years from the coming into effect of a disarmament agreement.

This is a drastic program, but desperate times require drastic remedies. It is for the United States to take the initiative, as it has done with respect to the United Nations Charter, the North Atlantic Treaty and the Marshall Plan. All these great steps forward were done under Democratic administrations. The new Administration should take the logical next step, and there can be but little doubt that the country would follow a vigorous leadership in this direction. If we want to survive, we must take the necessary risks, and these risks are certainly smaller than those involved in the present arms race.

SHINKOLOBWE: KEY to the CONGO . . *Ritchie Calder*

SHINKOLOBWE is a gray ulcer on the landscape near Jadotville, eighty-seven miles northwest of Elizabethville. It is, however, one of the most important mines in the world. History of the most portentous kind was dug from it. It began to produce radium after World War I. The ore body was first worked from the surface; as the surface ore gave out, the miners went underground. The ore was sent back to Belgium to be processed as pure radium for hospitals all over the world. But so much ore was produced that the stockpile could keep the Belgian refineries going indefinitely. The mine was closed and the pumping was stopped so that the workings flooded. The uranium, found in conjunction with radium, was then so worthless that it went on the slag heaps.

At the beginning of World War II, M. Edgar Edouard Sengier, head of Union Minière, was approached by Sir Henry Tizard, the British scientific adviser on defense, who told him the Germans were aiming to make an atomic bomb out of uranium and that no supplies should be allowed to get into their hands from the Congo. Sengier could guarantee that. And shrewdly, and on his own account, he shipped over a thousand tons of pitchblende (with its uranium as well as radium content) to a New York warehouse. He secretly informed the U.S. State Department of the shipment. The Department got so excited that it wanted the supplies moved to Fort Knox where the federal reserves of gold are stored—and then forgot about it.

When the Manhattan Project was set up, the military approached Sengier, then in New York, and told him that, for reasons which could not be disclosed, uranium had become important and as a matter of greatest urgency he must ship in some from Katanga. Sengier's reply was to take them down the street and show them the supplies he had been hoarding for over a year. Then, at a secret rendezvous, he met Gen-

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RITCHIE CALDER, British author and journalist, is a former member of the U.N. and the World Health Organization secretariats. This article is adapted from a chapter in a forthcoming book, The Agony of the Congo.

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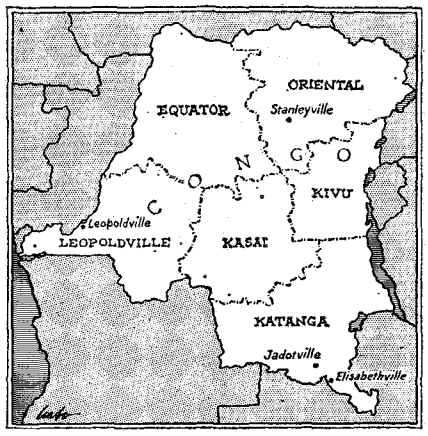
eral Groves, chief of the project, and asked him whether he wanted Shinkolobwe reopened. The General did. While the mine was being restored, abundant supplies were available from those slag heaps of rejected uranium. The uranium of the bomb which launched the Atomic Age at Alamogordo, New Mexico, at 4 A.M. on Monday, July 16, 1945, came from the Congo; so did the explosives which destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The uranium mine was then exclusively Belgian.

Although uranium is now available from many other sources, the Katanga deposits are naturally an important factor in the international and, indeed, in the internal political concerns of the Congo. A recognized Congo government will have a very important say in the present and future of the concession. But which government — an independent Katanga state? or the Central Government of a united Congo? Like the great powers, watchful over the disposal of bomb material, Union Minière cannot pretend to be disinterested in the politics which will decide the destiny of the concessions.

THESE concessions involve far more than uranium, which commercially forms a very small part of the mine's operations. The minerals include copper, cobalt (80 per cent of the world's supplies), zinc, cadmium, silver, platinum, columbium, tungsten and coal. The copper deposits are probably the richest in the world. This year's production, on market demand, of Katanga copper will be 50 per cent more than any previous year's.

In addition, the corporation has vast subsidiary interests. It owns a refinery in Belgium and a large electrolytic plant in France. It manufactures cables and wire. It has a large share in the Sabena Airline and in COBEAL, the parent company of a large group of aluminum manufacturers. It has an interest in harnessing a big waterfall (one of the biggest cataracts in the Congo) for working the Congo bauxite into aluminum. Hydroelectricity is among its abiding interests. In the Haut Katanga region, it uses a lot of power from Northern Rhodesia (with a stake in the Kariba Dam) but its immediate policy (at least before Independence) was to develop its own power within the Congo. In Elizabethville and other towns, it has built up new industries, largely devoted to the production of equipment, spare parts, mining necessities, etc. It has created a big chemical and explosive industry. It owns transport concerns, dairies, flour mills and commercial stores.

In recent years, the corporation has invested 2 billion Belgian francs in its subsidiaries; it spends about 870,000 million francs a year on products produced in Katanga by 70,000 African factory workers. One way or another, Union Minière sold through Brussels about 90 per cent of all the mining products of the Congo. It produced 45 per cent of Congo exports of all kinds and paid



about half of all the taxes collected by the Belgian Congo.

Its mines employed 20,000 Congolese and 2,000 Europeans. In the earlier days, the workers were brought in mainly from Northern Rhodesia. It was contract labor, which collected its pay and went home. There was a tremendous labor turnover. But little by little the corporation made the conditions such that today the turnover is only 7 to 8 per cent per year; the stability of the labor force can be measured by the fact that 83 per cent of the African miners have settled with their wives and families.

Union Minière for many years paid a great deal of attention to these wives, who have come to value the quite elaborate social services provided. The corporation has built hospitals of very high standard and, in smaller places, dispensaries with medical attendants. It has large institutions for mother-and-child care, with ante- and post-natal clinics which the mothers attend almost without exception. The clinics provide the vaccination and prophylactics for all the local diseases.

Every African child tries to get into the schools sponsored by the corporation. It built or subsidized the building of secondary and technical schools run by the religious teachers. It had made provision in two schools for four years of engineering training for 500 boys, who could then go to Jadotville for another two years and get a diploma corresponding to a Belgian degree. A few years ago, it began to give fellowships to children of miners and factory workers, making it possible to get an academic training at the University of Elizabethville, a state institution heavily subsidized by Union Minière.

By African standards, the wages paid were good, but not on a cash basis. The corporation accepted as fact that Africans "just drink money." But the workers got free clothing, food, housing, schools and medical attention. Housing is an example of the corporation's "philosophy." It owned the estates and provided houses, of fair standards, for all its workers. The workers could get loans, against future earnings, to buy a house; or they were paid children's allowances to rent a house. A system of mortgages was so contrived that, at a retiring age of fifty-five, an African could sell his home and retire to his tribal lands as a person of importance. Labor organizations were barred. While always under the supervision of Belgians, the Africans were thoroughly trained to do any technical job.

THUS THE Union Minière has not only an enormous economic stake in Katanga, but is part of the social fabric as well. When Moise Tshombe, the President, told the Secretary General of the U.N. that the presence and collaboration of the Belgians had made it possible for "the essential machinery of administration and public order to continue to function normally in Katanga," he was overlooking the disorder of

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North Katanga. He was, in fact, referring to the dependence of his government on Union Minière.

Apart from the fact that Union Minière is of Belgian registry, and that its personnel in Katanga is largely Belgian, how "Belgian" is it? This is a problem which the U.N. has had to investigate. Although it would need a search warrant, a safe-breaker, a cipher-breaker and a computer to discover and sort out the international ramifications of those two main corporations, they are obviously only fractionally Belgian; and, whatever one may say about international financiers, they are pretty far-sighted about their interests. The fact that the concessionary areas of Union Minière and Forminière in Katanga and South Kasai conform to the configurations of the two parts of the Congo claiming the rights of secession has provoked not unnatural suspicion.

But British Tanganyika concessions, Rockefeller's, De Beers and the rest who share control of Union Minière with the Belgians are not quite as crude today as the Robber Barons who encouraged the American Indian wars (with which events in North Katranga and South Kasai have a lot in common). Moreover, their long-term interests obviously override the primitive, and present, politics of Katanga and Kasai. Their anxiety is about concessions due to expire in 1990. Apart from any question of expropriation, one of their biggest shareholders is the "Government of the Congo." In terms of the constitution which the U.N. has gone into the Congo to maintain, that means the Central Government and not the self-styled "states" of Katanga or South Kasai. What was worrying the officials of Union Minière, while I was there, was the question, "to which government will we pay our next dividend?" In terms of the U.N. mandate, there is only one—the Government of the Congo—and so those officals, while humoring Mr. Tshombe, were remaining on proper and polite terms with the U.N. people on the spot.

Thus Katanga is a paradox. In the North, a primitive war is being fought with bows and arrows on one side against troops armed with modern automatics on the other. In Elizabethville (known as "Eville"), it is "business as usual." Nationalists denounce Belgian "colonialism," but are affronted by the U.N. offer to replace Belgians by international advisers and technicians. Katanga claims a separate status, but the only claim, legally, to the industrial wealth which it wants to possess is through the "Government of the Congo." A threat to nationalize was hastily disowned by Mr. Tshombe — because he probably realized that Union Minière is already inextricably internationalized.

Public's Role in Labor Disputes . . *by William Gomberg*

EVERY EXPERIENCED negotiator in the field of labor relations knows that more bargaining takes place in the last few hours before the strike deadline than in all the ceremonial play-acting carried on for months before the crisis. Professor John Dunlop of Harvard University has raised the question of whether this "crisis method" of bargaining has not become obsolete. At any rate, a new and revolutionary method of coping with the problem is implicit in the Kaiser Steel Company-United Steelworkers settlement reached last year, and in the newly established Railroad Commission on Work Rules.

Collective bargaining includes two principal facets. It is, first, a method of setting an administered price for labor as a substitute for a free-market rate. Second, it is a device for setting up codes of rules and regulations that govern the operation of the industry during the time covered by the collective agreement. The two categories, to be sure, are not mutually independent. The rules and regulations often have just as much impact on the ultimate labor cost as does the official wage.

The arguments that take place over the wage rates lend themselves readily to the method of crisis bargaining; where the demand is 10c and the offer is 8c, the obvious solution nearly always applies. To be sure, these discussions are attended by weighty economic briefs. Each side makes ploys for public sympathy: opposing public relations counsels attempt to persuade the public that, on the one hand, if the union gets what it seeks the increased purchasing power released will be in the public interest and, on the other, that if management has its way inflation will be checked. The very nature of the decision itself calls for a yes or no answer. This is why attempts to forestall strike action by calling for cooling-off periods usually evolve into heating-up periods. The cooling-off period merely postpones the final date of reckoning.

However, when it comes to the peculiar technical problems involved in complex work rules, the crisis method for forcing a settlement breaks down. The accelerating pace of technological change has worked havoc with the rules structure in many industries; simultaneously, increasing unemployment has caused the workers to hold onto obsolescent work rules in the hope that they would spread employment (a completely human, if uneconomic, reaction). This problem was dramatized recently by negotiations in two industries, steel and railroads.

The steel strike of 1959 started as a normal breakdown over basic wages. Some days after the strike was in progress, management suggested that it would be ready to consider some adjustments in wage rates if the union would virtually surrender its rights to participate in

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a revision of the work rules. This was the famous demand for the revision of paragraph 2B of the collective agreement. What had been a half-hearted, desultory strike on the part of the workers at once became a militant, determined contest. At stake was not the preservation of old work rules keyed to an archaic technology, but the workers' rights to "due process" in any revision. Featherbedding had never been an aggravated problem in the steel mills. However, the impatience of engineers with "due process"—the machinery of adaptation was too slow for the monolithic thinking in which the engineers were engaged—snatched defeat out of the jaws of victory for the companies.

The Kaiser management finally broke ranks and signed with the union. Part of the agreement called for the creation of a long-range committee to assure equitable sharing of economic progress. The committee was made up of Professor John Dunlop of Harvard University; David L. Cole, the country's leading private mediator and arbitrator; Dr. George W. Taylor, chairman of Eisenhower's fact-finding board, on behalf of the public, and three representatives each of the company and the union.

THE VERY creation of the committee was a precedent-shattering action. Hitherto, the principals in collective bargaining, particularly in steel, had treated their negotiations as a private matter between the parties. Official mediation services were ignored and if any representative on behalf of the public attempted to intervene before the crisis stage—or even during it—he was treated with resentment. The principals were convinced that they could do everything themselves. To be sure, the not infrequent use of impartial umpires to resolve disputes that arose under existing agreements represented a departure from this tradition. However, the formulation of new agreements was forbidden territory from which the umpires were very specifically excluded. It is in this context that the Kaiser-Steelworkers arrangement constitutes a significant experiment in the evolution of collective bargaining. The public is invited to participate in the collective bargaining process *from scratch* in an effort to aid the principals to arrive at equitable agreements that will do justice to them and simultaneously protect the public interest.

After a number of meetings, the committee recommended a supplement to the agreement between the Steelworkers and Kaiser that included the following significant statement:

> That the services of this committee be utilized on a continuous basis in promoting harmonious relations between the parties of interest. It hopes to achieve this objective by settling problems as they arise and thus avoid the accumulation of complex issues that must then be settled under the pressure of contract termination pressure deadlines. These problems definitely exclude routine grievances that continue to be settled under the normal provisions of the contract. They include the kind of problem that cannot be foreseen at the time of the signing of the contract and is therefore not covered by existing agreements.
>
> The bargaining over new contracts is still left to the union and the management. However, no later than thirty days prior to the expiration of the old agreement, the full committee shall meet to review the status of negotiations. It may then take any or all of the following steps:
>
> (1) Determine to take no action
>
> (2) Attend the bargaining session as observers
>
> (3) Engage in mediation efforts including private meetings with each of the parties
>
> (4) Issue a private report to the parties, summarizing positions and making recommendations
>
> (5) Issue a public report

At no point in the process is legal compulsion invoked, thus overcoming the objection that "outsiders" are attempting to impose a decision. The "outsiders" become "insiders" by adoption.

The agreement terminating the strike between the major producers and the United Steelworkers provided for two committees which have been confused with the Kaiser long-range committee. These committees, however, were of a much more restricted scope. The Human Relations Committee, provided for in Section 6 of the agreement, replaces an earlier group known as the Wage Incentives and Job Classification Committee; its scope follows that of its predecessor, except that it has a slightly wider jurisdiction and a more public-relations oriented title. The committee is jointly chaired by David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers, and Conrad Cooper, executive vice president of the United States Steel Corporation.

The second group, the Work Rules Committee, was provided for in Section 8, Clause 3, of the 1959 steel agreement. This committee was charged with making recommendations for the treatment of local working conditions no later than November 30, 1960. As of this date, the parties have not been able to choose a neutral chairman.

The authoritative journal, *Business Week,* reports a singular lack of enthusiasm for the Kaiser arrangement among the major steel operators. Steel management is concerned about the extension of collective bargaining into the areas of rates, prices, investment decisions and other financial policies, which they feel is implicit in the Kaiser arrangement. An analysis of company strategy in the last strike, however, would indicate that these subjects were introduced by management itself through its strategy of focusing upon the danger of inflation. Raising inflation as an issue must lead to a public review of these related factors unless boundless faith is placed in the efficacy of the Madison Avenue school of public relations: "Feel, but don't reason."

IN THE railroad industry, management and unions found themselves at a similar impasse over the issue of work rules, which are still keyed to the technology and culture of an earlier era of railroading. Many of the rules are obsolete; some of them impose an undue burden on the management, others on the work force. Again, "crisis bargaining" was found unsuitable for solving a problem that calls for a major overhauling of thousands of regulations. In this case, a fifteen-man committee, including five representatives each from management, the unions and the public, was created by Presidential order to make a detailed study of the problem and report back to the principals

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within one year. It will be interesting to see whether this committee also comes to the conclusion that a permanent body, representing principals and public, is required to act as a catalyst in the constant flux of changing conditions.

It has become clear that collective bargaining is rapidly approaching an impasse. If it is to survive, experiments with new institutions become necessary. In a sense, this echoes a development that took place when collective bargaining agreements began to break down administratively over the process of grievance-solving. The clothing workers' unions then pioneered the concept of a permanent umpire, with a thorough knowledge of the industry, who could propose equitable solutions. The previously employed system of *ad hoc* arbitration of grievances had become increasingly unsatisfactory: arbitrators, ignorant of all the intricacies of union-management relationships in the complex industry, often rendered decisions that were judicially equitable, but operationally impossible. The *ad hoc* arbitrator had to become a professional member of the family—albeit one with a professional obligation to the public.

Today, increasing dissatisfaction with *ad hoc* governmental intervention at the climax of negotiations for new contracts has led to a similar experiment, again making use of "members of the family" with a professional obligation to protect the public interest. But this time the experiment is applied not merely to the settlement of grievances, but to the actual formulation of contracts.

The development recalls a device pioneered by the late Justice Louis Brandeis of the U.S. Supreme Court, when, as a private lawyer, he drew up the "protocols of peace" that ended the New York cloakmakers' strike of 1910. The protocols, a highly idealistic document, carried no expiration date, but provided for a supreme conciliation and arbitration board of distinguished citizens who were to confine their attention to new fundamental conflicts that might arise between the parties. In a sense, it provided for a permanent industrial government by private citizens. In 1924, the protocols were dismissed by Louis Levine, historian of the ILGWU, as a visionary document that served as a bridge to the more orthodox kind of trade agreement. But in retrospect, it becomes clear that the protocols were in advance of their time. They may very well have been the harbinger of the next development in collective bargaining beyond the collective agreement.

CHICAGO'S VOTE-FRAUD HOAX

President Kennedy's narrow victory in Illinois last November gave rise to nationally publicized GOP charges of voting frauds. At the suggestion of Herman Finer, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, Chicago's Mayor Daley appointed a three-man board to prepare a report which would compare the charges with the facts as they subsequently developed. The board comprised Mr. Finer and two of his colleagues at the university: Professor Jerome G. Kerwin, specialist in political philosophy, and C. Herman Pritchett, chairman of the Political Science Department, whose special field is public administration and public law. Professor Finer's specialty is comparative government. All three are Democrats.

A slightly abridged text of the three-man report, released February 8 under the title "Statement on the 1960 Chicago Election," follows. —EDITORS.

IN RELEASING this report, the purpose of the authors is not to defend the Democratic Party or to attack the Republican Party, but rather to make a sober and responsible evaluation of the charges which have created such an adverse image of Chicago. This matter is particularly serious since there seems to be no indication that the charges about the 1960 Chicago election are being permitted to die down. References continue to appear in the national press, three months after the election, to the Chicago "vote frauds" as though they had been fully established. One national magazine, *Look*, in its issue of February 14, 1961, was still alleging that the election was "stolen" in a lead article entitled "How to Steal an Election," and carrying a banner headline with the question, "How Dishonest Are Chicago Elections?"

The 1960 election in Chicago was, in fact, according to Republican U.S. District Attorney Robert Tieken, "cleaner than usual." And yet this election was made the occasion for an unjustified and unsubstantiated attack of extraordinary violence on Chicago's civic reputation. The assault was led by the official heads of the Republican Party in Illinois and especially in Cook County, and was aided by the Republican National Committee. It is understandable that in an election as close as the one of 1960, the defeated candidates should make strenuous efforts to reverse the results. But indiscriminate and irresponsible charges of thievery, corruption and fraud are not an acceptable method of contesting election results. This fact was recognized in the position taken at his farewell press conference by Vice President Nixon, who had more at stake in the election than any other Republican:

> I believe, first, that the time to work for correcting such evils is before Election Day, instead of protesting afterward. I am going to devote considerable time now to recommending changes in our voting system. And, second, I must point out that no party has a monopoly on this type of cheating.

Chicago and Illinois Republican leaders did not follow this policy. They originated charges such as the following. Frank Ferlic of the State's Attorney's office charged that the election was "probably the worst in

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election memory." Republican Cook County Chairman Francis X. Connell, a defeated candidate, said there had been fraudulent voting in as many as 800 precincts, and that the Democrats had stolen 100,000 votes. William H. Fetridge, Chairman of the Midwest Volunteers for Nixon-Lodge, said: "We have information that more than 25,000 persons in the skid-row area voted the 'right way' in exchange for whiskey and money." Frank Durham, of the Committee on Honest Elections, said he "had never seen fraudulent practices more vicious in his twenty-five years of poll watching." *District Attorney Adamowski charged flatly that the White House had been "stolen."*

The Chicago newspapers printed these charges, seldom pointing out the lack of supporting evidence for them. Moreover, the newspapers themselves became participants in the campaign to picture the election as fraudulent, and on their own account repeated, multiplied and pyramided the charges of fraud in a day-to-day crescendo. To meet the requirements of the campaign, minor incidents and irregularities were repeatedly blown up into the appearance of major, intentional frauds.

The newspapers may argue that they only carried the quotations of officials, candidates and others who were active in the election — that they did not themselves make the charges and accusations. But what actually happened in many cases was that the newspapers would carry stories of allegations; then make the allegations charges; then make the charges facts; then make the facts conclusions — the conclusions being that the election was stolen in Chicago.

ONLY A few examples of the misleading effect of newspaper coverage can be given. The prime example of alleged election fraud, referred to time and time again in the press, concerned the 50th Precinct of the Second Ward, where there was admittedly an overcast of the vote. The facts appeared to be that in this precinct most of the houses had been recently demolished, but that the former occupants had returned on

The Chicago Press at Work

In a 35-page appendix to their "Statement on the 1960 Chicago Election," Professors Finer, Kerwin and Pritchett present an almost day-by-day analysis of the manner in which the Chicago metropolitan press — notably the Tribune, *the* American *and the* Daily News *— played up the election-fraud charges. Extracts follow.*—EDITORS.

One of the first charges of election irregularity was made by the Committee on Honest Elections. This committee claimed to be nonpartisan and permanent. In fact, practically all its members were Republican.

On November 8 and 9, in the Chicago *Daily News*, the committee alleged its "clean election drive had prevented a minimum of 100,000 fraudulent votes in Cook Country." The very word "fraudulent" prejudged the case, and no basis for the 100,000 figure was ever given, although it became a figure often repeated by top Republican officials and by the newspapers.

According to the *Daily News* of November 9, the United States Attorney's Office in Illinois had received and investigated 400 complaints. And although Mrs. Marie Suthers, Republican member of the Board of Election Commissioners, said, "I can't prove a thing," the assistant state's attorney, Ferlic, alleged "a deliberate effort to disfranchise the voters," and charged that the election was "probably the worst in election memory." Mrs. Suthers did not pin herself to the 100,000 figure, but made it 10,000 — a considerable drop.

On the same day, a *Tribune* headline article put the word "error" in quotes in the allegation that 100,000 had been denied the right to vote. It charged "Names Illegally Taken from the Lists." In the body of the article, all that appeared was that Mrs. Suthers had *charged* that names were omitted.

Of 1,200 voting complaints in the State's Attorney's office, 500 were regarding omissions from the voting lists. And the "numerous complaints" sent to the *Tribune* were for the same reason. But the instances given were less than those to be counted on the fingers of one hand. They may have shown evidence of error, but certainly not of fraud.

On November 10, the *American* printed an article with the headline, "100 Voter Machines Can't Be Checked." But in the body of the article, the explanation is given. The superintendent of voting machines said that he didn't think there was anything crooked, but just carelessness on the part of the polling-place owners — and maybe the judges. When he sent for the machines by truck, "time and again we found no one." In other words, the people simply were not in when the truck called. [Subsequently, the voting machines turned up and were duly checked.—ED.]

One of the tactics of the *Tribune* was to print what it calls "guest" editorials — articles from other newspapers. Naturally they were articles that served to echo and re-echo the charges made by the *Tribune* and the rest of the metropolitan press. For example, there was one printed in the Peoria *Journal Star* on November 22. It merely summarized and reiterated what the Chicago press had said and then added more vilification. The Peoria paper said: "Reports of highly reputable poll-watchers are vicious — citizens lined up and told what names and addresses to give at the polling place! Obviously, to vote other people's registration, dead, alive or moved away!"

The *Tribune* of November 24 printed a long editorial with the headline, "Mounting Evidence of a Stolen Election." The only evidence given was the 50th Precinct, 2nd Ward, and the material brought in, about herself but about nobody else, by their own writer, Norma Lee Browning, who provided a series of articles on how she had been deprived of her vote.

The records of the Board of Election Commissioners disclosed that Norma Lee Browning, who had registered under her married name, Ogg, had moved from her residence at 163 West Burton Place to 171 West Burton Place. Although her name should have been removed, it was carried on the polling list until 1958; notices sent her received no answer. Thus her name was stricken from the polling list. Although Miss Browning wrote five articles concerning the theft of her vote, she only had *one line* in all of the five articles concerning her moving. She said that of course she had answered the notices. Election officials say that they did not receive any answers. There is no evidence of fraud.

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Election Day and been permitted to vote. After this case had been exploited in many newspaper stories, George Thiem finally conceded in an article in the *Daily News* on November 25 that "it would be hard to prove deliberate fraud in this precinct. A more likely explanation is the unfamiliarity of the election judges with their duties and the election laws."

On December 2, the *Tribune* printed a story with the headline, "Nixon Gain Is 1,214 on Machines: GOP" The sub-headline is "See State Victory With Canvass Of Paper Ballots." Then follows a bulletin:

> Vice President Nixon made a net unofficial gain of 1,214 votes through a Republican comparison of actual voting machine figures with official canvass tallies, it was learned early today. Ralph Berkowitz, an attorney aiding the GOP, said Nixon apparently can go on to carry Illinois on the paper ballot recount. The Republican voting machine study, carried out by a firm of certified public accountants, also showed a net gain in Chicago of 1,616 votes for State's Atty. Benjamin S. Adamowski.

These figures — 1,214 and 1,616 — disappeared in the following days. The so-called machine study carried out by a firm of certified accountants never was presented or published. In fact the name of the firm completely disappeared from print. Yet this account was carried not only by the *Tribune* but by all three other Chicago newspapers, and the figures and the story disappeared from all other Chicago newspapers as well, with never an explanation.

The *Daily News* of November 12 stated that William H. Fetridge, Chairman of the Midwest Volunteers for Nixon-Lodge, had "recalled that in 1952 Secretary of State Carpentier was an apparent loser by 10,000 votes but the recount made him the winner by 9,000." The article then quotes Fetridge directly: "There is a precedent for this, that is what gives us encouragement." But the fact is that there was no recount in 1952 in the election for Secretary of State. Surely the files of the *Daily News* would have readily revealed this fact.

No one can question the constructive work which our newspapers in Chicago have done on many occasions. We are, however, confronted with a situation which does not promote a wholesome reporting of political news with all four newspapers following one party line on national questions. If it is worth while in our politics to have a vigorous two-party system, it is as worth while to have a two-party press.

Reaction to Criticism

The "Statement on the 1960 Chicago Election," severely criticizing the Chicago press for its handling of GOP-inspired election-fraud charges, was released on February 8. This is how the Chicago press handled the story on February 9:

Daily News: Fairly full and objective coverage on page 12.

Tribune: One-column story on page 3, with the adjoining column devoted to rebuttal under the headline "GOP Criticizes 'Uneducated Guesswork'."

Sun-Times: About a column and a half on page 5.

American: An early edition carried a first-page, eight-column banner headline, "Vote Whitewash Denied," over a story which began: "Three professors, all Democrats, today defended themselves against charges that they whitewashed the Democratic party after a superficial study of allegations of fraud in the Nov. 8 election." Later the story was moved inside. Of the twenty paragraphs in the story, only six were devoted to reporting what the "Statement" contained.

IN THE light of the charges made concerning the 1960 election, it is important to recapitulate the facts that have subsequently been established about the election.

Fact 1. A recheck of the voting machines in Chicago resulted in a net gain of 312 votes for Nixon out of a total of 1,780,000 votes cast— an amazingly accurate reporting of the vote.

Fact 2. The recheck of the voting machines in the State's Attorney's race resulted in a net gain of 435 for Adamowski.

Fact 3. On the "discovery recount" of the paper ballots, Adamowski gained a net of 6,342 out of 417,000 votes, leaving him some 20,000 votes short of the number that would be required to overturn the election of his opponent. (A discovery recount of paper ballots is made for the purpose of permitting a candidate to determine whether or not he would wish to file a petition for a recount, and is not made a part of the official canvass.)

Fact 4. The State Electoral Board, composed of four Republicans and one Democrat, certified the Kennedy victory in the state on the ground that there was not sufficient evidence of fraud in Cook County to change the canvass.

Fact 5. The First Assistant U.S. Attorney, Albert F. Manion, was quoted extensively in the press regarding the possibility of a number of indictments being returned by the federal grand jury, and "hundreds of complaints" were reported as having been referred to the grand jury for possible prosecution. Yet the December grand jury returned only two indictments and the January grand jury did not return a single one.

Further investigations of alleged violations of the election laws will no doubt be made, and should be made, according to the regular procedures of the law. They might indeed establish additional cases of violation. A recount of the paper ballots in the State's Attorney's race is now beginning, and it is possible that it might yield evidence of errors in the count. Because of the many opportunities for error or fraud created by the use of paper ballots, it is important to note that the City Council, at the request of Mayor Daley, has appropriated a half-million dollars for additional voting machines so that paper ballots can in the future be eliminated entirely.

On the basis of this analysis, we concluded that the charges that wholesale election fraud was perpetrated in Chicago were baseless and unsubstantiated. We agree with the judgment of Milburn P. Akers, writing in the *Sun-Times*, when he said: "Republicans had a right, legally and morally, to contest the results. But it is questionable whether they had a right to make sweeping charges of fraud without the evidence to back them up."

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Christ Seen Darkly

RADITZER. By Peter Matthiessen. The Viking Press. 152 pp. $3.

Terry Southern

I BELIEVE it is accurate to say that those books which achieve a level or duration of meaning beyond their moment do so, almost invariably, through character rather than circumstance. This is seen to hold true even when the work purports to deal primarily with theme or event, and it is the key to why such characters as Lear, Hamlet, Raskolnikov, Ahab and Joseph K. loom above the immediacy of their circumstances — that is to say, above the work itself, living outside and beyond it, often, in fact, even sustaining it.

In order that a new work outmode the existing treatment of any particular theme, milieu, or circumstance, it has merely to go further inside the subject than those prevailing, rendering it with greater care, honesty and attention to idiom and detail — bringing it, so to speak, up-to-date — and it may well become, until next season at least, "definitive." But authentic character creations are not so easily displaced; nor are they so easily or studiously come by. An author can no more deliberately set about to "create an original character" than a scientist can a new dimension. It is a *conceptual* matter which either occurs or does not; for the reader, and most often for the author as well, it is something which will simply evolve, as in life the "getting to know someone" the likes of whom you could theretofore have never imagined, but whose existence, you realize now, was at no moment any the less real because of that. When this does happen in literature, or indeed in any other attempt at art, the work is a success in the purest sense.

The rarity of original characters in literature would seem due to their two contradictory requisites in the mind of the reader: uniqueness and verisimilitude — that is to say, the character must be without literary precedent in the consciousness of the reader, and yet be somehow recognizable as having undeniably existed all along. Consider a few fading portraits from Americana past: Huckleberry Finn, Jake Barnes, Babbitt, George Apley. It is no accident that the books within which they were born remain those most commendably identified with their authors — they were originals; at the time of their appearance they were without obvious literary derivation, and yet they were life-size and *known* to exist. Because of this they each bridged one of the voids which always separate life and art — though today, of course, in terms of semantic currency, the images are dead. No one now, except possibly senior staffers at *The Saturday Review*, could think of using Huck Finn as a conversational simile; it has been displaced, nationally, by Holden Caulfield, or possibly James Dean. As for Babbitt and George Apley, their attitudes or mentality are simply no longer of interest to anyone; the conversation is more apt to turn on the activities of a Sammy Glick or Stanley Kowalski. Jake Barnes, on the other hand, has not yet been satisfactorily replaced, though he is recognized as belonging distinctly to the past — as opposed, for example, to the urgent relevance of characters like Meursault of *The Stranger*, Lucky Jim, Jimmy Porter and Frank Alpine of *The Assistant*.

AND now Mr. Matthiessen's *Raditzer*, it seems to me, must be granted a niche in this slender pinnacle. For here again is a character distinct from those in literature, yet one who has somehow figured, if but hauntingly, in the lives of us all. It is, in certain ways, as though a whole novel had been devoted to one of Algren's sideline freaks, a grotesque and loathsome creature — yet seen ultimately, as sometimes happens in life, as but another human being. This is not to say that there is the usual parting fillip of compassion, "graciously bestowed on the poor devil," but rather that, again as in life, none is required. For such is the nature of the human experience that, given the necessary situation — as, in this case, prolonged common confinement aboard ship — even the most monstrous and despised must at last be taken to heart: revealed, that is to say, in *meaningful essence*, as the veils and trappings of behaviorism wear thin and, finally, fail to distract.

We see Raditzer, the ordinary seaman, mostly through the eyes of Charles Stark, his shipmate and reluctant mentor, aboard the *U.S.S. General Pendleton* in Pacific waters, late 1944. Stark is that sane and perceptive fellow who used to be played by Herbert Marshall in the movies but who frequently recurs, somewhat younger now, as first-person narrator in *New Yorker* short stories—a cardboard figure and a pretty dull tool actually, with his flagrantly self-conscious "reasonableness" and "normalcy," and his finger-deep introspection. Stark is, in short, a literary ideal; he represents the reader. But Raditzer is something else:

> The man was nondescript in size, thin and soft rather than wiry, as if all his life he had eaten sweet, cheap foods. The eyes, aimed straight forward out of a face very wide at the temples and narrow at the chin, were bright; the large ears seemed oddly cocked, and dark hair was matted on his forehead. . . . He maintained a horrid, almost joyful bonhomie, a man-to-man familiarity with hard drink and lurid fornication, to which his most striking contribution was a stale obscenity, unrelieved by either gusto or invention, and vented with a death-defying snigger, wink, and nudge, which delivered all of womankind, including the wives, mothers, and sisters of his audience, to the ranks of some vast unregenerate whoredom. The angry men would listen to him, unable to believe that he would dare suggest to them what in fact he was suggesting. . . . He was the bogeyman in childhood cellars, come back to haunt them, but he was also the wretched troll within, the practitioner of dirty adolescent habits, the latent liar, pervert, coward, suddenly incarnate.

From the outset Raditzer attaches himself to Stark, and the latter, much to the ire and consternation of the rest of the crew, tolerates the imposition — though, granted, with a rather formidable ambivalence. Raditzer's general demeanor might be described as gregariously anti-social; he is so obsessed with the ugliness others see in him that he is in a constant drive to assert it tenfold —groping desperately, one might believe, for alienation . . . hatred . . . punishment. The greater interest in such a case as Raditzer, however, does not rest with any standard or complex Freudian equation explaining *him*, but lies in the emotional Rorschach he evokes in others. That is to say, *shall we kill him?*

Close readers will follow an excellent

TERRY SOUTHERN has written The Magic Christian (*Random House*) *and* Flash and Filigree (*Coward-McCann*).

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and updated Christ story in *Raditzer*, though this is not to suggest that the tale be limited to allegory, any more than should, say, *Miss Lonelyhearts*. Probably the weakest thing in literature, outside the pun, is the deliberate allegory, because it can never be more than that; in this way *Raditzer* succeeds where *A Fable*, for example, fails. There is, in fact, and unlike the other two works mentioned, very little overt use of traditional "Christ material" (elongated shadows and the like) throughout the book; at least, if there is an occasional trace of herring across the trail it is not enough to put one off, or rather not enough to put one too much *on*. But the novel's best reading, certainly, is not as allegory, but as character portrayal — the familiar face, that strange and furtive face seen somewhere long ago beneath brief lamplight . . . in an army barracks, a subway toilet, the last row of a Times Square movie . . . a rare bird and a very ugly one. But then is it really ugly after all? Perhaps what we sometimes see as "ugly" — in nature, in life, in the human condition — is but the unhappily twisted reflection of a much closer source.

Finally, of course, the book, like all good things alas, is not without fault. There is a great deal in it that is forced, especially at the beginning; much of the dialogue is wooden; the peripheral characters seem unduly dull and inconsequential, though perhaps here all must pale alongside the real-life stench of the hero; and lastly, the book is almost totally lacking in outward drama and suspense. This last fault is a serious one for a book of its format. It is well enough for coarse works of yesteryear's colors to pound along, fat and tardy, but novels of contemporary form should enjoy, above all, sharpness of pace and event. However, one must not cavil; wine, salad and cheese are not essential, surely, to the starving faced with a two-pound T-bone.

Democracy for Whom?

DEMOCRACY IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY. Edited by William N. Chambers and Robert H. Salisbury. Washington University Press. 151 pp. $2.75.

Howard Zinn

AMERICAN-type democracy, by turns reeling under Communist invective and waltzing to Chamber of Commerce panegyric, might have gone mad long ago if it did not occasionally make its way out into the bracing air of informed criticism. Since the war, the best-known of these criticisms are probably Walter Lippmann's *The Public Philosophy* and C. Wright Mills's *The Power Elite*; but we have had many more, hidden from the public eye in the pages of academic journals and the unpublicized lists of the university presses.

This book of essays, by a group of leading American social scientists, is the latest such appraisal, and should be welcomed with enthusiasm. If the content of its criticism leaves this reviewer dissatisfied, that should not diminish the importance of the book, for it touches upon almost every major question asked about democracy in the current debates. And its writers bring high competence to the discussion.

Louis Hartz's essay is a good opener, for it is particularly eloquent, and it is addressed to the over-all question of whether our democracy is in real trouble. Professor Hartz, who teaches at Harvard, answers: No. Then why are so many Americans worried today over the national future? Because we have suddenly confronted a truth we should have known long ago — that the democratic reality does not now and never has matched our ideal image of it. "Democracy has always worked through group coercion, crowd psychology, and economic power. . . ."

If reality violates ideal, some people might rush to change reality. Hartz refuses to panic. Yes, the actuality of American life is short of the Declaration of Independence, but its degree of freedom of choice is a great improvement over pre-capitalist rigidity. Yes, recognition of our only-middling success brings disillusionment, but the followers of communism, with ideals more grandiose and reality more base, have a longer way to fall. We are witnessing a "reverse competition in the process of disillusionment" in which the United States has a distinct edge. We have problems, Professor Hartz says, but largely they are of a "fantastic sort, an agony of the mind rather than of the real world."

This looks like an at-home version of what some State Department men advocate abroad — programs not to change our policy, but to change the *image* of our policy. Are our problems psychological, as political scientist Louis Hartz argues? Or are they real, as psychoanalyst Erich Fromm contends?

It seems clear that the crux of the issue is: whose version of the reality of American life is right? Have we, as Hartz says, "implemented popular government, democratic judgment, and the equal state on a scale that is remarkable by any standard"? Or are we a nation of status-seekers and waste-makers, tyrannized by hidden persuaders and power elites?

The truth is inconvenient, for we are both. We are well-fed, well-housed, luxuriating in appliances, free to speak our minds, and able to put pressure on our representatives. And we are slum-ridden, discriminated against, put in prison for defying Congressional committees, neglected in sickness and old age, and voiceless in the big decisions of national policy. As a democracy we are an enormous success, a pathetic failure, an incredible paradox.

The crucial fact is that democracy can never be assessed in the abstract, but only as democracy for whom, when, where? Hartz grasps only that aspect

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The May Day of the Wisewoman

Today when the cock crew and blew out the clock
I decided not to keep house with caution:
I intend to waltz and sing a cracked song,
And the King, trumpeting Death himself, shall not prevent me.

For today, traveling with all his sleights of light,
He strides like a wizard out of the bright horizon;
He has woven flowers into his hair and shimmering beard,
And thrushes are singing on his shoulders.

His cheek is made up like any cherub's, red and white;
He is dripping with dew and the dust of gardens.
Ha! My old cane has sprouted a green leaf,
And so I tumble to meet my ancient friend.

THOMAS VANCE

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most visible to the middle-class intellectual, so it is not surprising that his prescription calls, not for bold social innovation, but for a psychological adjustment to the reality of partial success.

Charles Lindblom's essay (he is a Yale economist and co-author with Robert Dahl several years back of a remarkable book, full of insight, called *Politics, Economics, and Welfare*) inquires into the extent of democracy in our economic structure. He criticizes James Burnham and C. Wright Mills for ignoring our price system. Lindblom does not ignore it. He is most respectful of it, for, hardly touched by human hands, it runs our economy. It is power-steering with no steerer. If it does not always stay on the road, it has not killed us yet. And it has taken us far. As for the amount of democracy in the system, that is hard to judge, Lindblom says, until we have some criteria.

Yet, Professor Lindblom's rather cheerful assessment of our economic system is based on his own criteria, undefined, but quite close to Hartz's criteria for evaluating our political set-up. That is, they measure us against the past and against other systems, rather than against what is needed and what our potential is. The result is the mild dissatisfaction of the liberal intellectual, to which, for a fuller understanding of our system, we would need to add the anger of the man with the lunch box, punching the last time-card before the layoff.

It is very hard, in this short space, to do justice to Professor Lindblom's essay, which is rich in the questions it asks, equivocal in the answers it gives, rightly insistent that we need to define our criteria, and gives an over-all impression of blandness despite occasional darting thrusts of criticism.

The essays of Samuel Beer (Harvard) and J. Roland Pennock (Swarthmore) inspect our governmental structure as a mechanism for efficient action. Pennock defends the fragmentation of our parties and dispersed political power as the essence of democracy. Beer, in one of the finest expositions I have seen of this much-handled question, argues that the dispersion of power in our national political structure favors inaction.

Their discussion leads to the more general theoretical question of how important is *structure* as such? Why is it that the United States and Britain, prototypes of the contrasting systems favored by Pennock and Beer respectively, have both developed a social-economic fabric similar enough to suggest that differences of degree (Britain has more planning *and* more freedom) may be due to factors other than political structure? However, a good case could be made for the point that once other pressures have fathered a new policy, the speed with which it is adopted may depend on the mechanism. And there is no doubt in my mind that Beer is right in condemning our apparatus as a maze into which innovation is cheerily sent with the instruction: "Get lost."

Foreign policy, Leon Epstein's essay points out, has always had some special dispensation for sinning against the democratic ideal. And Professor Epstein (University of Wisconsin) believes this is as it should be. He dismisses a little too easily, in this reviewer's opinion, Gabriel Almond's compromise suggestion of an "attentive public" composed of informed and interested private citizens before whom foreign policy alternatives would be debated.

AFTER reading all these essays one is suddenly struck by an air of unreality surrounding the discussion. It is not only that they leave out of the democratic reckoning those silent Americans who are out of range of our picture windows: the socially and economically depressed; the Negro; the political dissident; the alien. It is not only that their criteria for evaluating our progress are based on improvement over the past and our position relative to other countries, rather than the urgent needs of by-passed peoples and our pitifully unused potentials for both plenty and freedom. It is that they leave out the world.

Is it still sufficient on our suddenly small planet to evaluate American democracy as a phenomenon isolated from world povery? If the belly is full and the limbs emaciated, are we to move up close with our bifocals and pronounce the digestive system in excellent order? If it is of the essence of democracy that people affected by a policy should have something to say about it, what of the countless peoples all over the world whose lives hang on American action or inaction and who have absolutely nothing to say? There were two billion disfranchised persons in our last election. Can democracy ever again be judged from a nationalistic viewpoint?

Perhaps certain structural changes in government can give a voice to the voiceless in America so that they can go about getting their share of the national wealth and of its freedom. Perhaps also some improbable Council of Lay Advisers, consisting of a Singapore housewife, a Cuban peasant, a Nigerian teacher, should be flown into the States every few months to let our President feel the impact of emotions beyond those of Allen Dulles.

But it is probably up to us comfortable middle-class professors and other concerned Americans to make the leap of vision and empathy into the hidden lives of fellow countrymen to whom we've never been properly introduced, and beyond them to rice paddies in China and black cities in Tanganyika, and then judge our democracy. What we seem to need most is the kind of direct perception and warmth without which the cold mechanism of government, however carefully put together, can only keep us flying in ever smaller concentric circles until. . .

Read this book. It is stimulating.

Rebels Without Claws

CAPTAIN CAT. By Robert Holles. The Macmillan Co. 222 pp. $3.50.

BILLY LIAR. By Keith Waterhouse. W. W. Norton. 191 pp. $3.95.

SATURDAY NIGHT AND SUNDAY MORNING. By Alan Sillitoe. Alfred A. Knopf. 239 pp. $3.75.

THE LONELINESS OF THE LONG-DISTANCE RUNNER. By Alan Sillitoe. Alfred A. Knopf. 176 pp. $3.50.

NO LOVE FOR JOHNNY. By Wilfred Feinburgh. Harper & Bros. 231 pp. $3.50.

Leo Hamalian

THE AUTHORS of these five books, samples of the excellent fiction the English are writing today, have much in common: they depend upon freshness of contact with action; they have devised for their protagonists not only a sensibility in keeping with their times, but also a voice, stark and anti-stylish (metaphor, symbol and poetry are strictly controlled), through which to project this sensibility; and behind the disguise of this modest manner, they have an intensity of feeling, an underground violence, which springs at us with the force of a flat hand striking.

Inversely, despite their native competence and curiosity, they have an almost total lack of interest in verbal or narrative experiment and an almost complete indifference to their literary ancestors, as if they felt compelled, like their heroes, to spit upon their past. It

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is precisely this deliberate act of disengagement that is one source of their strength and freshness. Yet if an "influence" hunter were to suggest that they had read and absorbed certain of their contemporaries, we could not quarrel, especially if the contemporaries named were Kingsley Amis, John Braine, John Wain, and perhaps J. D. Salinger.

FROM their more famous contemporaries, our writers derive not an agreed point of departure nor a common destination. With the possible exception of Wilfred Feinburgh, they have inherited and share what might be called a posture, a negative stance. Society is associated with some aspect of the welfare wasteland of England — the drab industrial provinces, the reform institutions, the austere conscript camps, the sunless schoolroom — that is, a place that represents confinement either by unimaginative uniformity or mindless authority. Amid this setting operates the rebel without claws—the bicycle mechanic, the disabused conscript, the undertaker's assistant, the lonely young delinquent — those who live for the moments of physical reality, who oppose the forms of containment with the anarchic imperatives of the naked ego.

As the book jacket says, Robert Holles' *Captain Cat* most certainly does remind us of *Catcher in the Rye* in its tough-and-tender attitude to life, and I should like to add, of Kingsley Amis' *Lucky Jim* in its inventive comic fantasies; but it has a shape and rhythm that owes nothing to either. Based upon the author's early experiences in the Boys' Training Corps, it is a close-up of military life in Britain, seen through the eyes of Harry Bell, a cool youngster who faces the Enemy with a salty tongue ("She had legs like bloody Italy") and an "I'm all right, Jack" attitude from which he derives at first his defiant individualism. He makes friends with Rex Boone, a fat, unhandsome, unambitious brother to Joe Shaw of John Wain's *The Contenders*, and together they retreat up a tree into their own world of freedom and non-conformity, away from the crude, hairy "packers" of the barracks.

As a symbol of their rebel code, they adopt a stray cat and appoint him captain of their company of "indes." What happens to this rebellion the reader can guess, as Harry, like Winston Smith engaging Big Brother, faces the pack, alone and armed with only a puny "No." Neither preacher nor political propagandist, Holles snipes with the concrete knowledge of the novelist, but he has the deadly effect of a dumdum bullet.

If the spirit of *Lucky Jim* hovers even more persistently over *Billy Liar*, it does not interfere with the impression that Keith Waterhouse is among the most original and promising English novelists to pop up in recent years. His story moves through the realities and fantasies of a crowded day in the life of Billy Fisher, a young, sullenly lazy undertaker's clerk in a Yorkville town, who rebels against the chilly discipline of his home, against the tyranny of the time clock, against the trivialities of his mundane milieu by means of the rags and riches of his imagination. When his daydreams collide with reality, they get him into dilemmas from which he cannot extricate himself. Behind the wild fantasies there is a bright intelligence that will go to waste, and it is the unsentimental yet sympathetic approach to this small tragedy that raises the novel above the level of farce. When Mr. Waterhouse slackens his grip, the comedy becomes caricature and characters become stereotypes.

The hero of Alan Sillitoe's *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* is Arthur Seaton, a bicycle-factory employee with the same initials as the author, who as

THE CALIFORNIAN

Now in Second Year of publication

What's the Matter With San Francisco? Featuring: Mayor George Christopher

The normally placid city of San Francisco was shaken to the core recently—not by an earthquake this time, but by an article in a monthly magazine, **The Californian**, published in that city. Within two weeks all copies of the magazine were sold out and it had to be put back on the press. Yet the article was not really the expose type. True, it revealed many unpleasant facts about the Mayor; but it was more of a study in big city politics than an expose. Included in the article are: a Lincoln Steffens style interview with the Mayor, facts about the $20 million San Francisco Giants baseball stadium swindle, comments on redevelopment, a critique of the city's newspapers, and a fascinating study of city politics.

Month after month **The Californian** has printed information found in no other magazine—a lengthy article on the student demonstration against the House Un-American Activities Committee and still the ONLY one to name THE organizers, press handling of the Chessman case, the Giants' and Dodgers' baseball park deals, many stories on big business that are suppressed by the newspapers, etc. **The Californian** can do it because it does not depend on advertising for revenue and is not controlled by any party or organization. It was begun in January 1960 by an Associated Press award-winning newsman who combines scholarship (Phi Beta Kappa) with digging into the practical world of politics. It has succeeded, despite all predictions it would fold with the first issue, because and only because its truthful, documented reporting has attracted a steadily growing influx of new subscribers.

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a youth also worked in a bicycle plant. Arthur is relentlessly working-class, not seeking room at the top nor anxious to become anything more than he is. When his weekend comes, he soaks himself in beer and broads, fires an air rifle at a street gossip, leaves by the rear as the husband enters by the front, gets involved in an abortion, and falls in love. Sillitoe hardly seems concerned with class, and there is no more than the suggestion of social protest in Arthur's occasional denunciation of Laborite and Tory alike. Protest and rebellion are there, but it is the protest and rebellion characteristic of those who brim with more life than their milieu will allow, of those who are making the hard passage from adolescence to manhood. Arthur is on the verge of turning negation into delinquency; but as the title suggests, before that happens he will pass from the turbulence of Saturday night into the peace of Sunday morning. He doesn't know where he is going after that ("All I want is a good time. The rest is propaganda."), but the solid, reassuring net of Nottingham friends and family will spare him the agonies of a Billy or a Harry. Perhaps Arthur has unwittingly joined the Enemy, but we suspect that he will always oppose usury, cant, conformity, snooping and whining with his earthiness and engaging honesty.

A more class-conscious Sillitoe works nine variations on the themes of rebellion and isolation in *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner*. The splendid title story is the confession of a Teddy Boy putting in time at Borstal. The way to the favor of authority beckons to him: he can ingratiate himself by winning a cross-country race. Instead, like a disdainful tomcat, he chooses to walk — and to walk alone. In these stories, Sillitoe seems at home with the anarchic, incoherent working-class rebel-victim, and we feel none of Orwell's sentimental and often embarrassing sense of inferiority before the proletariat. Sillitoe's prose has pulse and vigor, and when he flashes these qualities across the acres of deliberate flatness, he is reminiscent of D. H. Lawrence, another rebel raised in the north of England that Sillitoe can evoke without blur.

THE protagonist of *No Love for Johnny* is neither misfit nor rebel. Imagine Joe Lampton of *Room at the Top* a little more awkward, a little more lonely, a little more ruthless and a lot more Laborite, and you have Johnny Byrne, the hotly ambitious M.P. of Marshfield who remembers his past as Yorkshire warehouse clerk and Socialist only when he needs to. The driving force behind his ambition is not anger, as it is subconsciously with Joe, but an abstract lust for power and prestige which he first tastes during the war while moving in the U-world of the British officer. Educated to the value of conformity and social polish ("If you've got the right accent and you are in command of the geography of the dinner table, the true mark of aristocracy is to eat like a pig"), he embarks upon a career in politics. Soon his only principle is to reach the top, and he jettisons any relationship — with his wife, his lover, his friends — that threatens to stand in his way (the title may be misleading, for the handsome, intelligent and personable Johnny is not hard to love).

In this novel, the author, himself a young Labor M.P. and writer before an auto accident took his life, does for British politics what *Advise and Consent* does for ours, with more skill if with less scope. Any American interested in life in England today ought to add these titles to his reading list.

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Power and Leadership

NEGRO POLITICS. The Search for Leadership. By James Q. Wilson. The Free Press. 342 pp. $5.

Saul D. Alinsky

THE LAST decade and a half has witnessed a major population shift of Negroes from Southern rural areas to Northern cities. In New York City the Negro population has passed the one million mark, and in Chicago it approaches that figure.

This Negro influx, accompanied by a substantial white exodus into suburbia, has signaled impending major changes in the political as well as the socio-economic composition of our Northern cities. The power rearrangements compel an immediate facing up to the fundamental issues of racial discrimination in housing and jobs. The days of politeness and procrastination have vanished.

With this change has come a keen curiosity about organization, leadership, goals, Negro-white relationships and other forces involved in these huge Negro populations. Wilson's *Negro Politics* is addressed to these questions. With a few and minor exceptions the study centers on Chicago, but there are sufficient similarities from city to city so that much of Wilson's interpretation is either applicable to or helpful in understanding the situation elsewhere.

In a perceptive introduction, "The Structure of Negro Politics," Wilson points out that "the prior existence of a machine (city-wide) . . . means that the entry of Negroes into politics will take place over the forms and rules already established." To a significant degree the form of Negro political life reflects the prevailing pattern. This treatment of the political structure is knowing and realistic.

Wilson's analyses of goals and leadership are closely intertwined. The goals fall into two categories: the welfare conservative and the status militant. The welfare goal of securing more schools, housing and hospital beds, even if segregated, conflicts with the status goal of prime insistence upon integration and equality. However, the split is not as clear-cut as Wilson indicates, since the two major goals are in constant interaction, as when white vested interests yield immediate concessions on housing and schools partially to blunt

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or appease the threat of desegregation.

The leadership types are largely determined by which goals they pursue. Here Wilson seems to wander from the hardheaded power orientation of the early part of the book into a misty classification of "token," "prestige" and other brands of so-called leaders. Many of Professor Wilson's distinctions of prestige and token leadership would be more proper as footnotes than as topic heads. The simple fact is that in any population, black, white, red, yellow or polka dot, a bona fide leader has an independent power base and a visible following. In Chicago at present the only leader who fits these criteria is Congressman William L. Dawson. Wilson's delineation of various other types of "leaders" reminds me of a penetrating comment by Chicago's Urban League Director, Edwin Berry: "People tend to confuse Negro leaders with leading Negroes." The "token" leader seems to qualify as a "leading" Negro, led by white interests. It is farcical to think that a "token" leader, lacking any power base, could negotiate with anyone.

Some points are open to question, among them the part played by color chauvinism in Negro politics. In his book Wilson ends a description of the recent political action of Detroit's First and Fifteenth Congressional Districts which, although heavily Negro, re-elected two white liberal Congressmen over Negro opponents and "voted the CIO ticket rather than on the basis of race." But writing on the same event in the *Reporter* (March 31, 1960), Wilson ended with: "The Union leaders feel that it is only a matter of time before it will be impossible to hold the seats for any white man."

Despite these reservations, Professor Wilson's *Negro Politics* is an important book about one of the most significant issues of our times. I like the way he does not shrink from specific instances. His is a valuable introduction to the power enigmas of Bronzeville and the nature of Negro politics.

ART

Fairfield Porter

IN THE twenties visiting French painters (Maurice Denis and Matisse) remarked on the good taste of American painting. That is not necessarily a compliment because it suggests shallowness. Good taste is not essential, and it is often a brake on energy. In a movie which shows Jackson Pollock painting, I remember his remarking that here he has lost contact with his painting. That is to say that he had lost contact with his deepest self, because of a failure of energy. Energy is a bridge to whatever is essential.

The Graham Gallery is exhibiting work of Edwin Dickinson painted between 1914 and 1959. From 1911 to 1914 he studied with William Chase, Frank DuMond and Charles Hawthorne. But his earliest pictures show contemporary French influence, as of a painter who wished to apply Cubism to the problem of truthful representation. "Nothing too much," neither Cubism nor representation. *The Rival Beauties* of 1915 simplifies the faces and dresses, the arch through which one sees a Latin street in perspective, the flags, the gesture of the cellist finding the note on the piano, and the singer, into flat, modernistic, kidney shapes. Dickinson's art is a draftsman's art. He perfected a tactile point of view in which everything goes from soft to crisp. But his tactility is as indirect as a stonecutter's. It is a discipline that he has transcended and that he constantly returns to. He returns to it in his large "machines" with downward perspective, in which he has assembled objects—drapery, figures overcome with exhaustion, roses, porcelain and musical instruments, for the symbolical suggestions of their association. In these paintings he seems overwhelmed by an ideal of consistency of texture and accuracy of rendering—like an architectural draftsman's exercise in perspective and cast shadows. In these paintings he does not seem to be in contact with his deepest self. But the show includes a larger number of smaller paintings, portraits, self-portraits, portraits of houses, and landscapes, as well as his extraordinary pencil drawings, where his energy transcends and makes use of an almost too rigorous and narrow discipline.

Such paintings are the two landscapes belonging to Edmund Wilson: *Black Fish Creek,* of a curving Cape Cod beach, with a few heartbreakingly accurate patches of dark seaweed, and sky above, with hardly a difference in the exact distinction between sky and sand, where color seems a way of defining edges, and edges, color. Or the *Boyer House,* with its Japanese-print orange-tans, in which, though there are no sharp edges, the softness of touch and the divisions of the canvas have an exactness that he usually expresses by a crisp line. The subject is one of the most mundane in American painting —the suburbs, seen with an eye that is both innocent as a child's and professionally careful. Or for contrast and immediacy, the pink *Villa La Mouette* against a perfect blue sky, belonging to the Metropolitan Museum. Dickinson makes the most out of the least, especially in *Winter Woods, Wellfleet,* or *View of Great Island.* Least is, green, flat ground and blue-green sky; or an impression of trees that gives, with trained simplicity, a single essential for landscape, namely, the presence of nature. In these little paintings, or quick ones, he is in touch with an elusive and fleeting essentiality. In his large exhibition pieces, he is in touch with not entirely coordinated ideas of art. In the large paintings, he expresses, like an inadequate classicist, the limitations of a formality that originates outside himself; in the small paintings he has been able to surrender to his deepest self which has a profounder form than the form one can know and understand. It is a form that does not impose itself on his subjects, nor is it outside them. Chekhov said he wrote about the ink-

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The City and the Song

Metronomes deafen the musicians
The ears of the learned are dull with discourse
The mechanical city ticks like a bomb
In the desert outside the walls the beloved lies bound
Anointed with honey and tortured by ants, he sings
Only the loving can measure the song with their pulses
as, listening for it, they twist the dials of time
The song ends. The city sickens
Barometers on the walls of the oblivious fall with the
silence and weathermen forecast frost
A stranger short of breath cries news of the hill of
bones outside the walls
and ephemeral columns print eternal news

The city of ants is dead. The singing youth was old, is
dead. The ribs that sang are filled with roots
A truth grows from the bones — a tree whose leaves aim
at infinity and find the mercy of limits
Circle this hill of pain. Drink at its brook
Under the singing tree, above the bones, gather flowers
amazing as the questions of children

DILYS LAING

well, and in the same way, in Dickinson's small paintings, there is none of the manipulation of the artist who has lost contact with himself.

AT THE Museum of Modern Art is another retrospective exhibition: the oils and water colors of Mark Rothko. A characteristic Rothko painting is eight feet high by six wide, with an awkwardly placed horizon dividing two fuzzy rectangles of red and orange. His colors range from maroon to the brightest neon scarlet, from brownish to lemon yellow, pale greens, and a somewhat muted French blue. His canvases are divided into smaller rectangles, but not like Mondrian, whose space is cut up as if into servings: Rothko divides without separating, perhaps because of the deliberately awkward sizes, perhaps because of the blurred edges. Whatever the reason, if you add the parts together, the sum amounts to less than the whole. A whole Mondrian equals the sum of its parts, but a whole Rothko is greater than the sum of its parts. Rothko uses color in such a way that, if there are two colors for two rectangles, one inside the other, the effect is of one color; if there are three colors for three rectangles, one above the other and the two inside the third, the effect is of two colors; when the canvas contains many rectangles of many colors, the effect is again an effect of unity. Two is a weak number, and most Rothko paintings seem to express this number. His paintings have no structural skeleton. What holds them together? Perhaps it is simply the artist's energy, which acts like a magnetic field around plasma. The paintings express breadth and height: they spread. Their simplicity calls for more wall space than they have been given. They look like non-objective murals for no particular place. Like architecture, they provide a spatial background. They are abstract in the manner of modern American commercial architecture, with its inattention to specific space, place, or function. One might call them prefabricated murals. The energy they communicate is proportional to their size and their simplicity: if they were more complex they might fail. Rothko makes no demands on himself beyond his ability. He asserts space as two-dimensional and finite. His color is luminous and without substance, as if it were light instead of pigment. It is reminiscent of the changing colored light that diffused the interiors of movie palaces in the twenties.

ROBERT RICHENBURG'S paintings at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery seem to be specifically *about* energy. Bright colors, at maximum intensity, in swirls like sunset clouds, fires, explosions or electricity, are seen through holes in an overlying black, like very thick bars of a window. One sees that the black overlaps, and this forces the black, usually a receding color, to the surface; it brings it forward; and the colors which by their brightness naturally come forward, seem to be forcibly pushed back. The result is an almost unbearable tension. Each canvas exists at the highest possible energy level. Like the Rothko exhibition, this one is much too crowded. Here the conflicting energies cancel one another out like brilliant sunlight reflected from snow.

The NATION

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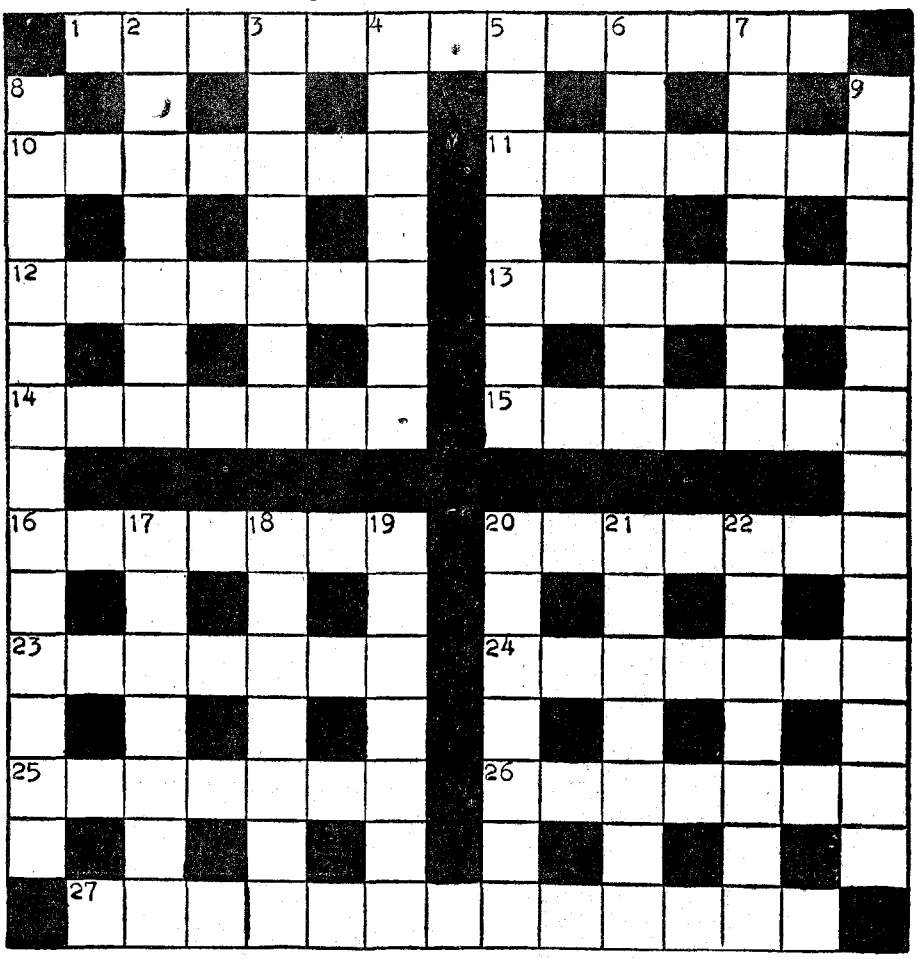
Crossword Puzzle No. 904

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 What the ushers might be doing after the special matinee? (Check going through it!) (8,5)
10 What's wrong with January, February, April, May, etc., according to the chief magistrate? (7)
11 It's read more commonly on top. (7)
12 One of those things clapped on by a seal. (7)
13 Does he follow the leader? (7)
14 If I said it was raining, you might understand this to be the answer.
15 Not necessarily young and foolish, though probably green. (7)
16 Should they be able to cut their fares easily? (7)
20 Even though he understands more, in his position he has to look out. (7)
23 And to understand this, it suggests seers are not fakes. (7)
24 Is it wrong to spare such a city as Algiers? (7)
25 Where a worker contributes to the pile? (7)
26 When you get one, you're just beginning to 23. (7)
27 What is likely to happen when the one sitting is mad as a wet hen? (Just a shade, however!) (13)

DOWN:

2 One might have a peculiar urge to take to the sea. (7)
3 He seems to have a hold on father.
4 Play with the wind—and come into something this way. (7)
5 In the main one might be large enough, and yet carry small weight on a foreign matter. (7)
6 Grain export which implies some previous upheaval? (7)
7 Calls for a certain amount of response. (7)
8 Implying a vote for the highway project? (3, 3, 3, 4)
9 The umpire and his equipment take time to reach the heights where it should be cold. (13)
17 Grant might be a cartographer. (7)
18 Cure-alls. (You might get a rise out of them, when about 59.) (7)
19 The last word in sneakiness! (7)
20 It helps to make one 23, as it seems plain to see. (7)
21 There should be a main association with this nationality. (7)
22 He might be in uniform to act with Roman disguise. (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 903

ACROSS: I Inchoate; 5 Tramps; 10 Thistle; 11 Umbrage; 12 Erato; 13 Debatable; 14 Casca; 16 and 2 Eggshell china; 19 Pathetic; 22 Discs; 24 Gehlenite; 26 On cue; 28, 31, 29 and 30 Nothing ventured, nothing gained. DOWN: 1 Intrench; 3 Osteopath; 4 Treadle; 6 Robot; 7 Meatballs; 8 Stereo; 9 Humbug; 15 Spaghetti; 17 Hydrostat; 18 Asperged; 20 Things; 21 Cleanse; 23 Eggnog; 25 Exile; 27 Crier.

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